

A HANDBOOK FOR REBELS

**A Guide to Successful Defiance
of the British Government**

**Being extracts from the Speeches
of Sir E. CARSON, K.C., M.P., P.C.
Sir J. H. CAMPBELL, Bart., Lord
Chancellor of Ireland; Mr. A.
BONAR LAW, M.P., Chancellor of
the Exchequer; Sir F. E. SMITH,
Bart., M.P., P.C., Attorney-General
of England; and other Organisers
of Rebellion in Ulster, who with
complete success, by a display of
Armed Force challenged the Might
of Empire, and were afterwards
honoured and rewarded by the
Government they defied.**

*COMPILED BY THOMAS JOHNSON
A Member of the Dublin Mansion House Conference 1918*

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"Possessing in this land neither moral nor intellectual préeminence nor any prestige derived from past merit or present esteem, the British Executive claims to restrain our liberties, control our fortunes, and exercise over our people the power of life and death. To obstruct a small instalment of self-government it allowed its favourites to defy its Parliament without punishment, to import arms from suspect regions with impunity, to threaten 'to break every law' to effectuate their designs, to infect the Army with mutiny, and set up a rival Executive backed by military array to enforce the rule of a caste against the vast majority of the people. The highest offices of State become the guerdon of the organisers of rebellion, boastful of aid from Germany. To-day they are the pillars of the Constitution and the chief instruments of law! The only laurels lacking to the leaders of the Mutineers are those transplanted from the field of battle!"—Extracted from the Address of the Dublin Mansion House Conference to the President of the United States of America, 11th June, 1918.

FOREWORD

It is hoped that this collection of extracts from the speeches of British Statesmen, Lawyers, Legislators, and Soldiers will provide the generation of citizens which survives the war with some useful hints on the science of Bloodless Rebellion. A careful reading will make it plain to an insurgent democracy bent on securing some of the spoils of war that before setting out to defy Parliament and the Law the example of the leaders of the Ulster rebels ought to be borne in mind. As they have shown, the secret of successful rebellion lies in (1st) securing in advance the support and connivance of powerful politicians and lawyers who have influence with the Governing Families, and (2nd), even more important, to ensure that the Armed Forces of the Crown will be allowed to take whichever side they choose in the projected conflict. If steps such as these are not taken, the plans for rebellion will be smashed at their inception, the organisers shot or deported, the rank and file scattered, broken, and imprisoned!

When recently four-fifths of the people of Ireland banded themselves together to resist Conscription which the British Government seeks to impose upon them against their clearly expressed will, they were assailed with fierce denunciation from the lips of the very men who had organised and promoted the armed rebellion in Ulster! The Government which threatens to perpetrate this gross violation of the national will consists in its chief officers of men who connived at and assisted in the arming of the rebel forces, and are parties to the retention in Ulster to this day of those arms for the purpose, publicly avowed by Sir Edward Carson himself, of re-arming the Ulster Volunteers when the war is over!!

The doctrine of Force has proved triumphant.

12th July, 1918

THOMAS JOHNSON.

OATH TAKEN BY PRIVY COUNCILLORS

"You shall swear to be a true and faithful servant of the King's Majesty as one of His Majesty's Privy Councillors. You shall not know or understand of any manner of thing to be attempted done or spoken against His Majesty's person, honour, crown or dignity-royal; but you shall lett or withstand the same to the uttermost of your power and either cause it to be revealed to His Majesty himself or to such of his Privy Councillors as shall advise His Majesty of same. . . .

"You shall to your uttermost bear faith and allegiance unto the King's Majesty and shall assist and defend all jurisdictions, præeminences, and authorities granted unto His Majesty and annexed to the Crown by Acts of Parliament or otherwise against all Foreign Princes, persons, prelates, states or potentates, and generally in all things you shall do as a faithful and true servant ought to do to His Majesty.

"So help you God."

OATH OF ALLEGIANCE

"I do swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to His Majesty King George V., his heirs, and successors according to law. So help me God."

OATH TAKEN BY SOLDIERS OF THE BRITISH ARMY

"I do make Oath that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to His Majesty King George the Fifth, His Heirs, and Successors, and that I will, as in duty bound, honestly and faithfully defend His Majesty, His Heirs, and Successors, in Person, Crown, and Dignity, against all enemies, and will observe and obey all orders of His Majesty, His Heirs, and Successors, and of the Generals and Officers set over me. So help me God!"

"TO RESIST THE DECREES OF PARLIAMENT BY FORCE OF ARMS IS TO WAGE WAR AGAINST THE CROWN."—From the "Daily Mail," January 19, 1911.

A CHRONICLE OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE VICTORIOUS BUT BLOODLESS REBEL- LION IN ULSTER, A.D. 1911-1914

1911—SEPTEMBER 23.

Public reception of Sir E. Carson as leader at Craigavon, near Belfast, the residence of Captain James Craig, M.P., Earl of Erne presiding. Addresses delivered by leading men calling upon the people to perfect their organisation to resist Home Rule.

Sir Edward Carson pitched the key. "We must be prepared," he said, "the morning Home Rule passes, ourselves to become responsible for the government of the Protestant province of Ulster. We ask your liberty at the meeting of the Ulster Unionist Council to be held on Monday to discuss there this matter, and to set to work to take care so that at no time and at no intervening space shall we lack a Government in Ulster which shall be a Government either by an Imperial Parliament or by ourselves." . . .

1911—SEPTEMBER 25.

Conference at Belfast of 400 delegates from Unionist Associations, Unionist Clubs, and the Orange Institution. Sir Edward Carson presiding. Resolution adopted: "Inasmuch as His Majesty's Government has intimated its intention to pass a measure of Home Rule for Ireland, and as we have again and again expressed our determination not to submit to Home Rule, the time has now come when we consider it our imperative duty to make arrangements for the Provisional Government of Ulster." A Commission of Five was appointed to (1) keep Sir Edward Carson in constant touch with the feeling of Unionist Ulster; (2) in case of emergency to take immediate action; and (3) to frame and submit a Constitution for a Provisional Government.

1912—FEBRUARY—MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL VISITS BELFAST.

A meeting had been arranged by the Ulster Liberal Association to be held in the Ulster Hall, Belfast, to be addressed by Mr. Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty. The Ulster Unionist Council on January 16th decided to "proclaim" this meeting—refusing to allow a British Cabinet Minister to address a Home Rule meeting in a public hall owned by the Corporation of Belfast—"a place made sacred by innumerable Orange and Unionist gatherings." As Lord Londonderry condescendingly announced, "he might hold his meeting in a part of the city outside the Unionist districts!"

To prevent the meeting being held in the Ulster Hall arrangements were made for bodies of armed men to take possession of the Hall and its approaches for a week beforehand. After many avowals of their determination to uphold the right of free speech, the Government quailed before the incipient rebellion. The meeting was held at a football ground outside the city, and, no disturbances following, Sir Edward Carson formally "congratulated the citizens of Belfast on their magnificent self-restraint!"

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1912—APRIL 9 (EASTER TUESDAY).

Demonstration at Show Grounds, Balmoral, Belfast. 150,000 men in military formation march past Mr. A. Bonar Law, M.P., then the newly-elected Leader of the Unionist Party in the House of Commons. Speeches by Sir Edward Carson and Mr. Bonar Law, Lord Londonderry, Earl of Erne, Lord Charles Beresford, M.P.; Lord Hugh Cecil, M.P.; J. H. Campbell, M.P.; Wm. Moore, M.P., etc.

1912—APRIL 11.

Home Rule Bill introduced.

1912—MAY 9.

Home Rule Bill passed Second Reading.

1912—JULY 27.

Unionist Demonstration at Blenheim—the Duke of Marlborough presiding. Sir E. Carson, Mr. Bonar Law, and Mr. F. E. Smith principal speakers. Mr. Bonar Law pledged the support of the Unionist Party to Ulster in resisting Home Rule “by all means in their power, including force.”

1912—SEPTEMBER 28.—COVENANT DAY.

It is claimed that 250,000 men (over 16 years of age) signed a “Solemn League and Covenant” to “stand by one another in using all means which may be found necessary to defeat the present conspiracy to set up a Home Rule Parliament, and in the event of such a Parliament being forced upon us we further solemnly pledge ourselves to refuse to recognise its authority.”

1913—JANUARY 16.

Home Rule Bill Third Reading.

1913—MAY-JUNE.

SEIZURES OF ARMS AND AMMUNITION BY CUSTOMS AUTHORITIES AT BELFAST, DUBLIN, LONDONDERRY, ETC.

From the “Northern Whig,” Belfast, June 4, 1913:—

“Almost everybody in Belfast knows that importation of arms into Belfast has been going on regularly for more than a year and a half—ever since the Parliament Act broke down the bulwark which the House of Lords raised against Home Rule. A good many thousands of modern army rifles have been received and distributed during that period. Those engaged in the gun-running have managed to get all their consignments through without arousing the suspicion of the Customs or disturbing the tranquillity of the Constabulary. . . . The prudence of proceeding quietly with the business of gun-running was self-evident. Rifles—and not only rifles, but machine guns and a large quantity of ammunition—have reached Ulster from many sources and under many aliases.”

LIST OF QUESTIONS SUBMITTED TO MEMBERS OF UNIONIST CLUBS, JULY, 1913.

- (1). What Orange Lodge are you a member of?
- What Unionist Club are you a member of?
- (2). Have you any gun, rifle, revolver, or any other firearm? If so, describe pattern and date
- (3). Have you any ammunition? If so, describe pattern and date. Note.—That old black powder ammunition is good for years.

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- (4). About 1886 and 1893 some Snider and Winchester rifles were issued to Unionists. Do you know anyone who has many of these?
- (5). Have you a bicycle? If so, push or motor?
- (6). Have you a motor car? If so, make and h.p.?
- (7). State what horses and carts you have and are willing to lend in case of emergency in your district?
- (8). Are you a good rider, and willing to join any mounted force, or to act as a dispatch rider?
- (9). Do you know anything about signalling with flags, lamps, etc.? Do you know the Morse Alphabet?
- (10). Are you acquainted with Medicine or Surgery? Have you been through a course of "First Aid for the Wounded"?

1913—SEPTEMBER 24—MEETING OF THE ULSTER UNIONIST COUNCIL.

FORMATION OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.

Report of Commission and Constitution of the Provisional Government adopted.

The Unionist Council thereupon resolved itself into the "Central Authority of the Provisional Government of Ulster." Proceeded to delegate its power to the Standing Committee of the Ulster Unionist Council (seventy-five members), making it the Executive Committee of the Provisional Government. Next proceeded to the appointment of officers. Sir Edward Carson was made Chairman of the Central Authority. Three Honorary Secretaries, an Assistant Secretary, two Chaplains, and a Legal Assessor (Right Hon. James H. M. Campbell, K.C., M.P.) were appointed. The following Committees and Boards were agreed upon:—

A Military Council of 84 members, together with the Officers Commanding, for the time being, the Divisions and Regiments of the Ulster Volunteer Force.

Boards: Volunteer Advisory, Finance, Railway, Transport, Supply, Medical, and a Personnel Board consisting of 19 nominated members (sixteen being Earls, Marquises, or Viscounts), in addition to the Unionist Members for Ulster.

Committees: Finance and Business, Legal, Education, Publication and Literary, Customs, Excise, and Post Office.

An Indemnity Fund of £1,000,000 was inaugurated for the widows and orphans, the wounded and disabled who might suffer in the course of active service—"payments to be at not less than Workmen's Compensation terms."

At this meeting Lord Londonderry asked that a special invitation to attend be extended to General Sir George Richardson, K.C.B., and Colonel Hackett Pain, C.B., these two officers being the General Officer Commanding the U.V.F. and the Chief of Staff. (Col. Hackett Pain is now—June, 1918—the Competent Military Authority for the Belfast area.)

Lord Londonderry said: "It is easy to baton an undisciplined mob into surrender, but it is a harder task to coerce a disciplined, organised community."

1913—SEPTEMBER 27.

Inspection and march past of the Ulster Volunteers—Belfast Regiments—by Sir Edward Carson, General Sir George Richardson, K.C.B.; Colonel Hackett Pain, C.B.; Mr. F. E. Smith, K.C. (Aide-de-Camp). 14 Battalions, 800 strong, each accompanied by Ambulance Corps and Signalling Party.

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1913—OCTOBER.

Armed Camp at Baronscourt, Co. Tyrone.

The "Northern Whig," one of the two Belfast Unionist morning papers, published on 7th October, 1913, an official description of the "Armed Camp at Baronscourt," Co. Tyrone, the seat of the **Duke of Abercorn**. The article contained the following:—"The officers of every company of the Ulster Volunteer Force in Co. Tyrone are at present in camp undergoing a thorough course of military training. Unless possessed of a pass, no one is admitted to the demesne. There are 300 men in camp. The **Duke of Abercorn** is acting as Commanding Officer. A course of instruction is being carried out under the direction of military experts, and includes infantry training, musketry practice, and engineering. Lieutenant-General Richardson, General Officer Commanding the Ulster Volunteer Force, who was accompanied by **Colonel Hackett Pain**, Chief Staff Officer, inspected the camp yesterday, and expressed himself briefly thus:—"I was perfectly amazed and absolutely delighted with what I saw. The Tyrone Regiment alone comprises five battalions, with a total membership of between 5,000 and 6,000 men. The principal object of the camp training is to afford everyone attending instruction in work in the field and to give them such practical training as will best help them to instruct the men in their commands, to consider how the Ulster Volunteer Force is likely to be used, teach what its opposition will be composed of; its likely composition and how best to meet it."

1913—DECEMBER.

Proclamation prohibiting the import of arms.

1914—MARCH 14.

Dinner to Sir Edward Carson at the Ritz Hotel.

"Daily Express" (London), March 14, 1914—

"A gleaming silver handled sword with a blade of fine steel, emblematic of the stand the men of Ulster are making in defence of the Union, was presented to Sir Edward Carson last night at a dinner given in his honour by nearly a hundred of his personal friends at the Ritz Hotel. On the blade of the sword these words are inscribed:—"Presented to Sir Edward Carson by friends of Ulster in sure hope that God will defend the right."

"Among those present at the dinner were:—

"Lord Ampthill, the Marquis of Salisbury, the Duke of Marlborough, the Marquis of Londonderry, **Lieut.-General Sir Bryan Mahon***, the Earl of Malmesbury, Admiral Sir Alfred Paget, the Earl of Portsmouth, Sir W. M. Aitken, M.P.; the Earl of Selborne, the Duke of Somerset, Lord Milner, Major Archer-Shee, M.P.; Lord Willoughby de Broke, Lord Halsbury, Lord Lonsdale, and the Duke of Rutland."

(* Appointed General Officer Commanding-in-Chief of the Forces in Ireland, November, 1916.)

1914—MARCH 20.

MILITARY REVOLT AT THE CURRAGH.

From the "Morning Post" and Press Association:—

"On Friday, 20th March, 1914, General Sir A. Paget, Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Ireland, sent for General Gough, Commanding the 3rd Cavalry Brigade, and informed him that it was possible, and indeed probable, that the Government would wish to utilise the services of his Brigade for 'active measures' in Ulster. He told him that he had heard that there had been some manifestations of reluctance on the part of officers of the Brigade to serve against the Ulster Protestants, and he also indicated that he had heard that General Gough himself had strong feelings on the subject. In order to test the matter beyond all kinds of

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doubt he informed General Gough that he would give him two hours to give him his decision on the subject.

"A conference of officers was held. Brigadier-General H. de la Poer Gough, who is in command, said that he had already made up his mind, and requested the officers to consider their position and let him know the result. Immediately practically all the officers stated they would follow the example of the General and hand in their papers. The result was communicated by telephone to the 5th Lancers at Marlborough Barracks, whose officers immediately followed their example. Out of 76 officers 70 handed in their resignations, including Lord Holmpatrick."

1914—APRIL 24.

LANDING OF ARMS AT LARNE, BANGOR, AND DONAGHADEE BY THE ULSTER VOLUNTEERS.

"The plot (i.e., the Government's plans to send troops to Ulster) induced the chiefs of the Ulster Volunteer Force to complete at any risk the arming of the force. This they did most effectually by the now-famous gun-running expedition of the 24th April.

"Notwithstanding the Proclamation of the Government and the vigilance of the Customs Officers and police, a cargo of over 35,000 magazine rifles and 2,500,000 rounds of ammunition purchased on the Continent was landed at Larne, Bangor, and Donaghadee. The arrangements for landing this huge consignment of arms were made with equal skill and daring under cover of a general mobilisation of the U.V.F. It should be mentioned that the Unionist chiefs had all along maintained that the proclamation prohibiting under Customs Law the importation of arms was illegal and a violation of the terms of the Act of Union. Many hundreds of private motor cars were employed to convey the rifles and cartridges from the ports at which they were discharged to various safe depots throughout the province, and so perfect were the arrangements that not a weapon was seized.

"Naturally the exploit made a great sensation throughout the country, and the Prime Minister, being appealed to by Nationalist and Radical members, promised 'immediate steps' against the offenders. But although it was known that many of the chiefs of the Ulster Unionist Party were actively concerned in the business, there was no attempt at proceedings against them. The Government sent a destroyer flotilla to patrol the Ulster coast, with a view, apparently, of preventing a repetition of the exploit.

"There was no necessity for another gun-running enterprise. There were rifles enough for present needs, and right useful have some of these weapons proved to the nation since in the training of the New Army. . . ." From the "Northern Whig"—Review of the Year—(December 30, 1914).

1914—JULY 15.

An order was made at the Stockton County Police Court on 15th July, 1914, for the forfeiture of 150,000 rounds of ammunition which had been seized by the Durham Constabulary at one of the wharves at Stockton-on-Tees. It was stated in Court that on the 7th July four railway trucks filled with bags which were supposed to contain cement were being unloaded when one of the bags broke and several cartridges rolled out. Police Sergeant Dodds, who investigated the matter, said the bags were consigned to Belfast.

1914—JULY 24.

The following circular was issued on 24th July, 1914, to the members of the West (Belfast) Battalion of the Ulster Special Service Force of the Ulster Volunteer Force:—"The battalion will parade on Thursday, 23rd inst., at 7.45 p.m., at Mountjoy Street. Drill Order. This is a most important parade, as identification plates will be issued, without which no

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special service man can draw pay on embodiment or remit to his family if serving away.—F. B. Crozier, Captain.”

1914—JULY 25.

Ulster Volunteers march through Belfast fully armed.

1914—JULY 26.

Landing of arms at Howth by National Volunteers. Attempted disarmament by the Military.

BELFAST AND DUBLIN—A CONTRAST.

“Belfast News-Letter,” July 27, 1914—

ULSTER VOLUNTEER FORCE—EAST BELFAST REGIMENT. EIGHT BATTALIONS ON PARADE.

“Fully armed, and accompanied by two Colt machine guns and a Maxim gun, the East Belfast Regiment of the U.V.F. had a route march through the principal streets of the city (Belfast) on Saturday afternoon.”

From the same issue, July 27, 1914—

NATIONALIST GUN-RUNNING. CONFLICTS WITH THE MILITARY AND POLICE.

“To-day's events may be briefly summed up by saying that the Nationalist Volunteers in attempting to land a cargo of arms came into conflict with the forces of the Crown. . . .

“The Volunteers were called upon to give up their rifles, but refused. The police made a baton charge, and in the melee some twenty rifles were wrested from the Volunteers. The police seemed to be repulsed, and it is stated a number of them when ordered to charge refused to do so. The soldiers were then called upon.”

1914—AUGUST 4.

Outbreak of war.

1914—SEPTEMBER 28.

Anniversary of Covenant Day.

Sir Edward Carson and Mr. Bonar Law in Belfast appealing for recruits.

Mr. Bonar Law said:—“We (i.e., the whole Unionist Party) shall support you to the last in any steps which Sir Edward Carson and your leaders think it necessary for you to take to defend your rights. . . . We give the pledge without any condition.”

Sir Edward Carson said:—“When the war is over we will call our Provisional Government together and we will repeal the Home Rule Bill as far as it concerns us in ten minutes. All our Ulster Volunteers are going to kick out anybody who tries to put it into force in Ulster. . . . We also have with us our guns. I heard somebody say we had allowed the guns to go out of Ulster. It is a lie. Not a single gun has gone out of Ulster, nor a single round of ammunition. So long as I am leader I will consent to bringing in any amount of guns, but I will never consent to a single gun leaving Ulster.”

THE WILL TO POWER

THE GOSPEL OF NIETZSCHE IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE REBEL LEADERS

[NOTE—The quotations which are here printed are *not* copied from policemen's notes written down from memory hours after the speeches were delivered. They are reliable. They are extracted mainly from verbatim reports taken by professional stenographers under favourable conditions, and printed in newspapers which support the Rebel Cause.]

RT. HON. SIR EDWARD HENRY CARSON, Kt., P.C., M.P.

May, 1915—Appointed Attorney-General for England.

Oct., 1916—First Lord of the Admiralty.

July, 1917—Member of War Cabinet without Portfolio.

At Craigavon, Belfast, on 23rd September, 1911, said—"I believe from my heart that if it were necessary to-morrow Ulster would march from Belfast to Cork and take the consequences even if not one of them ever returned."

At Portrush, Co. Antrim, on September 26, 1911, said—"I got this telegram coming into the hall, and as I have it in my pocket I may read it to you. It is from a Commander in the Royal Navy living in England. I do not know who he is, but he sent it to me voluntarily. It is as follows—'I desire to be placed in communication with your Committee to offer my services to Ulster if called for.' Do you think that is an isolated case? Thousands are burning to come and help us."

At Edinburgh, on the 19th December, 1911, said—"I have been called a rebel, but I do not care for that."

At Belfast, April 9, 1912—"The present Government had treated them with fraud, and if necessary they would treat the Government with force."

At Omagh, Co. Tyrone, on 5th July, 1912, said—"If England and Scotland tell us that we cannot continue to be allowed to enjoy our privileges as an integral part of the United Kingdom, we will take the matter into our own hands and keep it in our own hands until we are admitted back to what was our birthright. . . . I spent part of the previous day in Belfast investigating what was being done (to defeat Home Rule), and all I will say is that proper and necessary steps are in my opinion being taken."

At Blenheim, on 27th July, 1912, said—"We will shortly challenge the Government to interfere with us if they dare, and we will with equanimity await the result. We will do this regardless of all consequences, of all personal loss, or of all inconveniences. They may tell us, if they like, that that is treason. It is not for such men, who have such issues at stake as we have, to trouble about the cost. We are prepared to take the consequences, and in the struggle we will not be alone, because we have the best in England with us."

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At Enniskillen, on 18th September, 1912, said—"On Ulster Day we will lay the foundations for our advance and we will enter into the most Solemn Covenant in all humility and in no sense of defiance, a solemn covenant one with the other that in all the steps that may be necessary to resist this Home Rule scheme, even if it becomes law, we will advance as one man."

At Lisburn, Co. Antrim, on 19th September, 1912, said—"I promise you, with all the sacred confidence that you and I ought to feel towards one another, that if this (Home Rule) policy is persisted in there is no length that may be necessary, no sacrifice that may be compulsory, that I and others who are associated with me are not prepared to take in the defence of Ireland."

At Londonderry, on 20th September, 1912, said—"You are entering into that sacred obligation (the Covenant) with the same spirit, the same determination, the same calmness and the same reasoning that influenced your forefathers when they resisted James the Second."

At Coleraine, on 21st September, 1912, said—"Here is what the Covenant says—'In the event of such a Bill being forced upon us we further solemnly and mutually pledge ourselves not to recognise its authority.' I do not care twopence whether it is treason or not; it is what we are going to do."

In Belfast, on 28th September, 1912, before he left the city, said—"Whatever be the occasion upon which I come back, if it be for peace I prefer it, if it be to fight I shall not shrink."

At opening of Drill Hall, Willowfield, Belfast, May 17, 1913, said—"The Covenant was a challenge to the Government, and they dare not take it up. It was signed by great lawyers . . . It was signed by soldiers in uniform and policemen in uniform and men in the pay of the Government. And they dare not touch one of them."

In Belfast, on the 16th May, 1913, said—"Go on, be ready. You are our great army. It is on you we rely. You must trust us to select the most opportune methods for, if necessary, taking over the whole government of the community in which we live. I know a great deal of that will involve statutory illegality, but it will also involve moral righteousness."

In Belfast, on the 12th July, 1913, said—"We have the repeated pledges of our great leader, Mr. Bonar Law, who came to see me the day before yesterday to wish me God-speed and to tell you this message, that so far as he is concerned, and speaking on the part of the whole Unionist Party, under the present circumstances, whatever steps we may feel compelled to take, whether they be constitutional, or, in the long run, whether they be unconstitutional, we will have the whole of the Unionist Party under his leadership behind us."

In Belfast, on 12th July, 1913, said—"The Government know perfectly well that they could not to-morrow rely upon the Army to shoot down the people of Ulster. (Cheers, accompanied by a salvo of revolver shots and cries of "Ulster for ever.") I tell you this, that a day never passes that I do not get—to put it really at a low average—half a dozen letters from British officers asking to be enrolled. The other day—I know of it myself—a British officer was asked to send in his papers and resign because he had joined us, and he was given a fortnight in which to do it. He did not send them in, and they did not turn him out, but they ordered him to rejoin his regiment. They did that because they knew that if they once commenced that sort of thing there would be no end. The Army are with us."

At Craigavon, Belfast, July 12, 1913, said—"Let me be very explicit. We intend if the Home Rule Bill is put upon the Statute Book to take over the Government for ourselves. Let there be no mistake about

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it. We will under any circumstances spend our autumn in perfecting all our machinery for that purpose. . . . When we have set up our Provisional Government, as we undoubtedly will, we shall then call upon all those who pay direct taxes in this country to refuse to pay them to any Government which is going to hand them over to a Home Rule Parliament, and I shall hope there will be a general refusal throughout the Province of Ulster to pay any taxes under such circumstances."

At Belfast, July 26, 1913—"I hope in September to call together the whole of the Ulster Council, and I hope we shall sit in our own Parliament from day to day taking all the necessary means by Committees and by gaining information throughout the country through the Clubs. I hope we shall sit there from day to day until we have absolutely completed our arrangements for taking over the Government ourselves upon the day that Home Rule is put upon the Statute Book. . . . It might be, probably it will be, an illegal procedure. Well, if it is, we give the challenge to the Government to interfere with it if they dare. We make it clear to the Government that our object is to dispute their authority or to dispute the authority of any man or combination of men to take away from us the form of Government under which we were born and have lived. . . . But the Government won't interfere. They have not the courage."

At Ballymena, on 18th July—"For my part the present position satisfies me fairly well, because we have now behind us the whole of the Unionist Party in England and Scotland. They are practically pledged to us in whatever course we think necessary to take. Even if the Bill is put on the Statute Book they are practically pledged to help us in our resistance."

At Kilrea, Co. Derry, on the 2nd August, 1913—"If you cannot surrender and you cannot compromise there is nothing for it but to fight it out, and that is what we are going to do, and that is why I am glad to meet the men face to face who are going to incur the same or perhaps even greater risks and dangers than I am."

At Portrush, on 4th August, 1913—"I see by an announcement that his Majesty's Government are reported to have issued a warrant for my arrest. . . . I know nothing about it, and I care less. . . . One thing I feel certain of is that the Government will never produce it and will never execute it."

At Omagh, on 6th August, 1913—"If there is a collision the collision will be brought about by the Government, and we will give them every opportunity if they wish to do it. So long as the Government allow us to take our course and do not interfere with us there is no reason why we should have a collision, but if the Government interfere with our preparations I shrink from no collision, because preparation is absolutely essential."

At Newry, September 7, 1913—"I do not hesitate to tell you that you ought to set yourselves against the constituted authority in the land. . . . But the danger and the difficulties will be great. There will be the danger and difficulties of trying to run a Government of our own against the constituted authority under the Home Rule Bill. . . . We have called together the representatives of Ulster from all over the province for next week. The matter will be thoroughly and fully discussed, and proposals will be laid before the whole Ulster Council, and all we ask is . . . that you recognise we have done our best and implicitly and faithfully carry out and obey what we lay before you. We will set up that Government—I am told it will be illegal. Of course it will. Drilling is illegal; I was reading an Act of Parliament forbidding it. The Volunteers are illegal, and the Government know they are illegal, and the Government dare not interfere with them. . . . Don't be afraid of illegalities; illegalities are not crimes when they are taken to assert.

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what is the elementary right of every citizen, the protection of his freedom, and if anyone tells me I should be ashamed of myself, I tell him it is the motive I live for, and if I am threatened I am prepared to defend myself. . . . **We will not allow any individual or any body of men, whether they call themselves a Parliament or a Government, to take away what we consider essential for the carrying on of our rights and privileges.**"

At Antrim on 20th Sept., 1913:—"Let every man join the Volunteers, and let those who do not join take care that when the hour of trial comes they will not be ashamed of themselves for the reason that they have not rendered themselves fit to join with others in the great work before them."

At Randalstown, Co. Antrim, on 20th Sept., 1913:—"I have been for the last two years watching treason in the making, and therefore it is now that we have an army in the making to put down treason in the making."

At Randalstown, Co. Antrim, on 20th Sept., 1913:—"Our Volunteer army will come in when they try to enforce their (Irish Parliament) Act upon us and when they try to enforce the edicts of their Executive upon us. We will tell them, 'You are not our Executive or our Parliament—you may send down your sheriff and bailiffs, but we will send our Volunteers.'"

At Antrim on 20th Sept., 1913:—"We are daily getting promises from those who have served their country in the ranks and who have served their country as commanding officers to come and assist us. We have our General (Sir George Richardson) on the platform to-day. I see that it has created something of a commotion that they have at length ascertained that we have this great General amongst us. He has been here for some time, and he is going to be with us, please God, to the end. But I tell the Government more than that. I tell them that we have pledges and promises from some of the greatest Generals in the Army that when the time comes, and if it is necessary, they will come over and help us."

On Saturday, 27th Sept., 1913, there was a review of the Belfast regiments of the Ulster Volunteer Force at the Agricultural Show Grounds, Belfast. The local Press claimed that 14,000 to 15,000 men were on parade. The proceedings were modelled carefully on the lines of a review by the King. Sir Edward Carson took up his position on a specially erected dais. General Officer Commanding Sir George Richardson advanced to the dais and saluted Sir Edward in the approved fashion. His staff paid similar obeisance at frequent intervals. The troops marched past in review order, and then assembled in massed battalion formation, advanced, turned, and retired. On the same night a document was issued from the headquarters of the Provisional Government, Old Town Hall, Belfast, headed "Inspection Parades." It was signed by "G. Hackett Pain, Colonel, Chief Staff Officer," and contained the following passages:—"The General Officer Commanding has much pleasure in publishing the following complimentary remarks received from the **Right Hon. Sir Edward Carson, K.C., M.P.**: 'I desire to express to the Belfast regiments of the Ulster Volunteer Force who assembled on Saturday my grateful appreciation and admiration to the splendid turn out on that occasion. Any country may well be proud of such a body of men who are prepared to make every sacrifice in defence of their elementary rights of citizenship.'

[In continuation of the above the General Officer Commanding wishes to place on record his appreciation and thanks to all officers commanding regiments and battalions and the other officers, section and squad leaders, rank and file of the units of the Belfast Division for their splendid turn out. The soldierly bearing and discipline of the parade was a magnificent testimony of drill and attention, and was most impressive, reflecting the highest credit on all concerned."]

At Belfast, Sept. 27, 1913 (after review of the U.V.F.):—"Men of the Belfast Regiment of the Ulster Volunteers, I need hardly say how proud I feel to see this splendid turn out to-day; to see you with your officers and your distinguished General of the whole Force (General Sir George Richard-

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son) coming forward here to-day as the natural corollary of the Government that we intend to set up if this Home Rule Bill is persisted in. Because I need hardly tell you that all Governments must in the ultimate resort depend upon the force that is behind them. And it is because I see this splendid overwhelming force here to-day that I have no doubt if we are driven to it we can successfully persist in our idea of setting up a Provisional Government."

At Dungannon on the 1st October, 1913—"Men of the Ulster Volunteers, I purposely address you that way, as I have given up making political speeches, and I want to speak only to those who are prepared to fight. The time has come when the men upon whom reliance must be put are not those who cheer, but those who drill. Go on and be prepared."

At Armagh on 4th Oct., 1913—"If anything could add to the gratification which I feel at the present moment it is that there should stand beside me here the Lord Primate of Ireland, a very good specimen, if I may say so, of a brother rebel."

At Armagh on 4th Oct., 1913—"We have the declaration of our leader, Mr. Bonar Law, that under existing circumstances we will be backed up in any course we are compelled to take, and we will call upon the Unionist Party in England to carry out to the bitter end the pledge and the promise they have given us. The Government will soon find that a quarrel which looks to them in the distance to be a local one in a comparatively small part of his Majesty's dominions will very soon grow until it permeates into every village and hamlet of the United Kingdom, and spreads from there out into the Empire, from which yesterday we received—from Winnipeg—an offer of 500 men to come across."

At Birmingham on 21st Nov., 1913—"We in the North of Ireland will never recede from the position we have taken up, and if the Government mean to carry out their present proposals to the bitter end with the forces of the Crown, they will have, before they succeed, to blot Belfast out of the map of the United Kingdom."

The Belfast Unionist papers of 23rd Dec., 1913, published a report to the effect that the North of Ireland Rugby Football Club had decided to abandon all its fixtures for the season and devote the Saturday afternoons to drilling and military training. On being informed of this decision, Sir Edward Carson wrote a letter in which he said:—"The coming year will be one of unparalleled importance for Ireland, and it will show, I believe, that there are still men who are prepared, regardless of consequences, to fight the battle of freedom. The action of the North of Ireland is a splendid example to all of the necessity of laying aside at any inconvenience everything in order to maintain the one great object we have in view. . . . My earnest prayer is that 1914 may prove a year of victory."

October 5, 1913—"We have been ridiculed, jeered, and laughed at by our political opponents in England. Well, they can go on jeering and laughing, and we can go on drilling and practising shooting, and we will see in the end who is right."

After a review of the East Belfast Regiment of the Ulster Volunteer Force at Belfast on 17th Jan., 1914—"I want you all to reflect that day by day and hour by hour we are coming nearer the great crisis for which we have been so long preparing, and I notice that the nearer we approach that day the more your courage and my courage and your determination and mine grows. I tell them (the Government) that if they dare to come and attack us the red blood will flow."

In Belfast on 19th Jan., 1914—"It may be necessary—I hope it will—to have even as we go along further conversations, but I tell you this, whether it be in domestic policy or whether it be in foreign policy, the golden rule to observe is let your preparations keep pace with your diplomacy."

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In Belfast on 19th January, 1914—"A leader ought, above all things, to value human life, though I admit that he ought not to over-value it, and, taking all things into consideration, I tell you that when the time comes, whatever may be the consequences, I shall not hesitate to give the word of command. If our movement is successful—which I believe it will be—we shall owe that success to the sacrifice of the men who are now enrolled as Volunteers. How ready has been the call to action you will understand me when I tell you that we will shortly have to close our lists because we will have a force adequate and certainly as large as one can maintain."

At Chester on 23rd January, 1914—"I believe that these men (Ulster Volunteers) are justified to the very last extremity in using force or any other means in their power. I know that is a serious statement. I know what it involves. I have the honour to be a Privy Councillor of his Majesty in Ireland and also in England. I have the honour to be a King's Counsel, and I believe we are morally justified in every step we take to protect our interests. When the time comes I think the Government will have to fight not only the community of Ulster, but the whole of the Unionist and Conservative Party in Great Britain. If we are to be rebels you will also be rebels, and I venture to think that the label of rebel will be a far higher distinction than even the label of Prime Minister of this country."

In the course of a letter published in the Belfast Unionist papers on 25th Feb., 1914—"The sole object of the Ulster Volunteer Force is to make it impossible for the Government to compel us to submit to a Home Rule Parliament in Dublin."

Interviewed by a "Times" correspondent, April 28, 1914, after the landing of a cargo of German arms at Larne—"There is nothing novel in what we have done. . . . Guns and ammunition have been coming in for a long time, but the measures taken on Saturday were necessarily on a larger scale, because we are getting nearer the crisis, and our men are now drilled and prepared for the arms."

At an inspection of the West Belfast Regiment of the Ulster Volunteer Force, June 6, 1914—"I am glad to see you are not only here present, but I think I recognise some of the cargo of the 'Mountjoy.' There is not a man in Ulster who is not proud of what Ulstermen did in the landing of those arms—it would have done credit to any army in the world. . . . And now, men, keep your arms, no matter what happens. I rely upon every man to fight for his arms to the end. Let no man take them from you. I do not care who they be, or under what authority they come, I tell you, 'Stick to your arms.'"

At Belfast, after a Volunteer parade, on 6th June, 1914—"When we have won, as we certainly will win, a magnificent victory, I hope I may have the privilege of pinning upon each of your breasts a medal with the one word 'Ulster.'"

At Drumbeg, Belfast, 13th July, 1914—"I met the other day the Provisional Government for the first time, and I tell his Majesty's Government that in a very short time, unless they are prepared to leave us alone, we will recognise the Provisional Government, and no other Government. . . . I am not going to tell the Press or anyone else what we are going to do, but I say this: that this assemblage of representative men from the whole of Ulster have given me authority, acting with your other leaders as my advisers, at any moment and in any way I like, to assert our authority so as to prevent Home Rule being put upon the Statute Book. They have given me the power, and, if necessary, I mean to exercise it without hesitation. I shall exercise it, I hope, with the fullest courage, with the most grim determination, and without regard to the consequences to myself. . . . I say to the Government: Give us a clean cut for Ulster or come and fight us."

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Resolution passed by demonstration of Orangemen after a speech by Sir Edward Carson at Drumbeg, July 13, 1914 (three weeks before the outbreak of war)—“That in view of the imminence of the final struggle against Home Rule, we call upon our leaders to take whatever forward steps they consider necessary, inasmuch as we, like our forefathers, ‘stand upon our guard, and do resolve, by the blessing of God, rather to go out and meet our danger than to await it.’”

At Belfast, September 28, 1914 (eight weeks after the outbreak of war)—“The Bill is now upon the Statute Book, and a great deal has happened since we signed the Covenant, but the Covenant remains as it was two years ago. . . . **We always meant to bring our struggle to the issue before the Bill was put upon the Statute Book.**”

At Belfast, September 28, 1914—“What I propose to do is in the future—may God grant it may be in the near future—when the war is over—I propose to summon the Provisional Government together, and I propose, if necessary, so far as Ulster is concerned, that their first Act shall be to repeal the Home Rule Bill as regards Ulster. And I propose, too, in the same Act, to re-enact that it is the duty of the Volunteers to see that no Act or no attempt at an Act under that Bill should ever have effect in Ulster. That we will do at the right time.”

At Belfast, September 28, 1914—“**When the war is over we will call our Provisional Government together and we will repeal the Home Rule Bill as far as it concerns us in ten minutes. All our Ulster Volunteers are going to kick out anybody who tries to put it into force in Ulster We will also have with us our guns. I heard somebody said we had allowed the guns to go out of Ulster. It is a lie. Not a single gun has gone out of Ulster, nor a single round of ammunition. SO LONG AS I AM LEADER I WILL CONSENT TO BRINGING IN ANY AMOUNT OF GUNS, BUT I NEVER WILL CONSENT TO A SINGLE GUN LEAVING ULSTER.**”

RIGHT HON. A. BONAR LAW, M.P.,

May, 1915, Secretary for the Colonies; now Chancellor of the Exchequer;
Leader of the Unionist Party.

At Bootle, Dec., 1911—“As to the Irish question and the part that Ulster is taking in defence of its sacred rights, I say this to you: When the time comes there will be no shrinking from strong action. There will be no shrinking from any action which we think necessary to defeat one of the most ignoble conspiracies which has ever been formed against the liberties of free-born men.”

House of Commons, June 18, 1912—“They know that if Ulster is in earnest, that if Ulster was resisted by force, there are stronger influences than Parliamentary majorities. They know that in that case no Government would dare to use their troops to drive them out. They know as a matter of fact that the Government which gave the order to employ troops for that purpose would run a great risk of being lynched in London.”

At Blenheim Palace on the 27th July, 1912—“While I had still in the (Unionist) Party a position of less responsibility than that which I have now, I said that in my opinion if an attempt were made without the clearly expressed will of the people of this country, and as part of a corrupt Parliamentary bargain, to deprive these (Ulster) men of their birthright, **they would be justified by all means in their power, including force, in resisting.** I said so then, and I say now, with a full sense of the responsibility which attaches to my position, that if the attempt be made under present conditions I can imagine no length of resistance to which Ulster will not go in which I shall not be ready to support them.”

At the Queen's Theatre, London, on 27th May, 1913:—“Ulster will be backed up to the last by the whole of the Unionist Party.”

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House of Commons, March 19, 1914—"And what about the Army? We have really now got to a stage when we must face facts. What about the Army? If it is only a question of disorder the Army, I am sure, will obey you; but if it is really a question of civil war, then soldiers are citizens, like the rest of us. It has never been otherwise in any country at any time. If it is civil war, whether it is right or wrong, the Army will be divided, and you will destroy, therefore, such as it is, upon which we depend for the defence of the country."

House of Commons, March 23, 1914—"Neither officers nor men should be compelled to take part in civil war against their will."

House of Commons, March 23, 1914—"The House knows that we on this side have from the first held the view that to coerce Ulster is an operation which no Government under existing conditions had a right to ask the Army to undertake, and in our view it is not necessary to say that any officer who refuses is only fulfilling his duty."

Ulster Hall, Belfast, 28th Sept., 1914—"You remember that at Blenheim I gave the undertaking that we would help you in your just cause. I gave that undertaking on no authority except the authority derived from the belief that I spoke what our party thought. . . . The message I bring you to-night comes not from any party leader—it comes from every member of the Unionist Party in the House of Commons. And they mean it. If the occasion arises we shall support you to the last in any steps which Sir Edward Carson and your leaders think it necessary for you to take to defend your rights. The pledge I gave at Blenheim had a condition, rightly or wrongly—I think still rightly—but as the leader of a British party, whatever your duty might have been—and I never judge as to that—it would not have been right for me to support you if the people of this country had declared against you. But now . . . I say to you, and I say it with the full authority of our party, that we give the pledge without any condition."

MR. F. E. SMITH, K.C., M.P.,

Now the RIGHT HON. SIR FREDERICK EDWIN SMITH, Kt., P.C.,
Attorney-General.

May, 1915, appointed Solicitor-General for England.

Nov., 1915, appointed Attorney-General for England.

In "Pall Mall Gazette," 29th Jan., 1912—"Violence is always deplorable. So is bloodshed. Yet violence and bloodshed in Ulster would be an incomparably smaller misfortune than cowardly acquiescence in a revolution which, if consummated, would assuredly plunge the whole country in civil war. It is as certain as anything in politics can be certain that she (Ulster) will have the active and material support of thousands of Englishmen. . . . England will never betray Belfast. It is the touchstone to-day of the Unionist resolution that we will shrink from no step, however extreme, to repel the plot in which a cowardly Government has been involved."

At Liverpool on 22nd Jan. 1912—"There is no length to which Ulster will not be entitled to go—however desperate or unconstitutional—in carrying the quarrel—if the quarrel is wickedly fixed upon them—and I say without hesitation that in any resistance to which Ulster might be driven, rather than submit to Home Rule, on which the constituencies have not been consulted, she would command your support and she would command my support, and I am the last man in the world to recommend any other man to take risks which I would not be prepared myself to share."

At Deptford, 31st Jan., 1912—"Is anyone mad enough to suppose the Government would say to English troops: 'Although England is against Home Rule, go and shoot Ulstermen because they want to stay in the Empire'? Let the Government do it, and there might be other ways of getting rid of the Government."

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At Belfast on the 12th July, 1912—"I note with satisfaction that you are preparing yourselves by the practise of exercises and by the submission to discipline for the struggle which is not unlikely to test your determination. . . . But on this we are all agreed: that the crisis has called into existence one of these supreme issues of conscience amid which the ordinary landmarks of permissible resistance to technical law are submerged. We shall not shrink from the consequences of this view, not though the whole fabric of the Commonwealth be convulsed, and we shall tread with you the path of destiny, knowing that, whether it leads to freedom or disaster, it is the only road which does not lead to dishonour."

At Blenheim on 27th July, 1912—"I can only tell Sir Edward Carson this—and I speak with all sense of responsibility—should that time come when Ulster is threatened with a violent attempt to incorporate her in an Irish Parliament with no appeal to the English electors—I say to Sir Edward Carson, 'Appeal to the young men of England.' I would remind Sir Edward of his own memorable words, and I adopt them: 'We shall not ask our followers to do any deed or to confront any risk which we are not determined and prepared to do and risk ourselves.'"

At Londonderry on 20th Sept., 1912—"There is one sentence in that undertaking (the Covenant) which contains all the rest, actually or potentially, which contains enough political doctrine to incorporate the whole Act of Revolution of 1688, and that is the sentence which says you will not respect or regard a Parliament elected under the Home Rule Bill. That determination, if I read your minds aright, is final and irrevocable."

At Dromore, Co. Down, on 18th Sept., 1913—"It becomes enormously simplified if the man who speaks on your behalf, who speaks to those with whom it is necessary to hold parley, can say: 'I have behind me not only the Orange Lodges and the Unionist Clubs, but 100,000 of the vigorous manhood of Ulster, and where I tell them to go they go.'"

At Ballyclare, Co. Antrim, on 20th Sept., 1913—"From that moment (the passing of the Home Rule Bill) we on our part will say to our followers in England, 'To your tents, O Israel.' From that moment we shall stand side by side with you, refusing to recognise any law, and prepared with you to risk the collapse of the whole body politic to prevent this monstrous crime. The sands are running down in the glass. The time has arrived for action on your part and ours."

At Antrim on 20th Sept., 1913—"Wherever we go I find Volunteers; I find men acquiring efficiency in military exercises with a facility and natural aptitude which, I am informed by your military instructors, they have never before witnessed in their previous military experience."

At Coleraine on 21st Sept., 1912—"You in Ulster are not an isolated camp in the great army of the Unionist Party. You are in the firing line at the moment, in the post of honour, or outpost duty. There is many a loyal heart in the great main body of the Unionist force that will come to you when the general engagement develops, who will lay down their arms only when you lay down yours, and that will be when the battle of the Union is won for ever."

In Belfast on 23rd Sept., 1912—"If there is going to be any coercion by the Revolutionary Committee which to-day holds power in England, resistance is not going to be limited in its scope to the Unionists of Ulster. If you go and tell them in Liverpool that they have no concern with the quarrel and that they must stand idly by, their rifles would go off themselves."

At Ballyclare, Co. Antrim, on 20th Sept., 1913—"I rejoice wherever I go to see that the Ulster Volunteer movement is gaining ground in every part of Ulster, and I will tell you why. It is because you are dealing with a Government which understands one argument—the argument of force."

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Co. Antrim, Sept. 20, 1913—"Home Rule will be dead for ever on the day when 100,000 men armed with rifles assemble at Balmoral (Belfast)" . . .

At Banbridge, Co. Down, on 18th Sept., 1913—"Make this your ideal, that within the next few months, anticipating fully the crisis, Sir Edward Carson shall negotiate with the Government, that Sir Edward will be strong in the knowledge that he has behind him 100,000 disciplined men."

At Banbridge on 18th Sept., 1913—"I say to you, and I say it plainly and boldly—and I venture to say it whether you like it or not—that no young man of military years is carrying out the spirit of that Covenant, which he solemnly swore, unless he takes his place side by side in the next few months with the men whom we saw marching to-day."

At Ballyclare, Co. Antrim, on 20th Sept., 1913—"If there are any young men in this district who have not joined the Volunteers I would invite them not to let the opportunity pass, the passage of which, I believe, will fill them for all their lives with poignant regret."

At Armagh on 4th October, 1913—"No one, I hope, will take it amiss if I say this: that if, which God forbid, it ever comes to blows, if shots in this country are ever fired, every man who is not drilled will be allowing other men to defend his wife and his children, his sisters and his home. When Sir Edward Carson comes back let there be no young man in Ulster sharing our views who will not stand at the salute when Sir Edward comes."

At Armagh on 4th October, 1913—"We shall make England realise that it (the establishment of a Home Rule Parliament) can never be done, the more easily, the more swiftly, and the more triumphantly your Volunteer movement advances. I hope to see at an early date those men who have undergone the necessary discipline and drill armed with real rifles. On the day on which there be in Ulster 100,000 disciplined men armed with rifles, wherever else Home Rule may be talked about, it will never be talked of in Ulster."

At Manchester on 17th Nov., 1913—"I say to the Government, try it (Home Rule) if you dare. The instrument will break in your hands, and it will not be our fault if you succeed. You can put the whole of the Unionist Party in prison if you dare. We will see what happens if this quarrel is to be fought out on that level. It is in their hands, and if they try to dare we will give them an opportunity to decide whether they are strong enough to carry that through."

At Woolwich on 27th Nov., 1913—"At the present moment the proposal that holds the field is that, if Ulster resisted, the English army should be employed by this Government to put them down. According to the poor measure of my capacity, if it ever comes to that I will fight for Ulster."

At Liverpool on 10th Jan., 1914—"As to the present Irish crisis, my own policy has been finally settled. I will at all hazards support the men of Ulster in their resistance to Home Rule. I will go further and say that if the Government dared to challenge this quarrel I will come to Liverpool and ask the people here to play their part when the great day comes."

LORD MILNER.

House of Lords, March 23, 1914, referring to the officers who resigned rather than obey orders to take action against the Ulster Volunteers, spoke of "the action of officers who might live in history as the saviours of their country."

EARL CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

In a "New Year's message from the Grand Master," published in the "Primrose League Gazette" of 2nd January, 1914, said:—"Our duty, the duty of every Primrose Leaguer, is clear. It is to support those who are so bravely fighting the battle of the Union in Ireland."

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WALTER LONG, M.P., NOW COLONIAL MINISTER.

At London on 28th May, 1913—"In my judgment Ulster is absolutely right. The course she is taking was the only course open to her, and she will have all the support and help that the Unionist Party can give her."

MR. J. H. M. CAMPBELL, K.C., P.C., M.P.,

Now RT. HON. SIR JAMES HENRY MUSSEN CAMPBELL, BART.,
Lord Chancellor for Ireland.

Sept., 1913—Legal Assessor for the Provisional Government of Ulster.

April, 1916—Appointed Attorney-General for Ireland.

Dec., 1916—Appointed Lord Chief Justice for Ireland.

May, 1918—Appointed Lord Chancellor for Ireland.

At a meeting in Dublin (Mr. J. G. Butcher, M.P., being present) on Jan. 5, 1912—"He could only ask Mr. Butcher to bring from them to British platforms this message—that if England ever was so base as to be guilty of the greatest act of political treachery that ever dishonoured any country, as to betray the loyal minority in Ireland, who stood to her, betray them to their implacable foes, then all he said was, 'We will protect ourselves.' And that he for one would never hesitate, either in public or in private, to urge and persuade his loyalist countrymen to resort to every means—every means available to men of honour and courage—before they would consent to be deprived of that which was their heritage."

At Limavady, 8th Jan., 1912—"No party in the State had any right, constitutional or otherwise, to sell them (the Protestant minority of Ireland) into bondage. And the moment any State by unholy alliance or by secret bargain—the moment that bargain was struck, then they were entitled to say, 'You have forfeited the right to ask us to meet you by constitutional weapons; you are not playing the game; you are playing with loaded dice, and you have left us no alternative but to resist your conspiracy by every method and by every means that men of honour or of courage could resort to.' While they urged the people to do this, they urged them to no danger, no sacrifice, that they themselves were not prepared to share and take a portion. He never would, and never had, either in the House of Commons or on the public platform, given any advice to his fellow-countrymen that he was not prepared to take himself. . . . The path both of honour and duty imperatively called upon them to resist to the death this impious effort to rob them of the freedom which was the birthright and the possession of their forefathers for generations."

At Newtownards, 26th Sept., 1912—"We Unionists say to them, 'You may deprive us for the time being of our constitutional remedies, you think you have covered up the ground and left us without relief or recourse, but you have forgotten that there is still one right, one remedy, left to men of honour and conscience, and that is the right in the last resort to defend themselves by their own right arms, and with their own stout hearts.' And, with the help of God, who did not desert our forefathers in the days gone by, and who, I believe, will be with us in the fight to come, if fight is necessary, but I am determined that if we are driven to it, which God forbid, we will see to it that we will defend ourselves."

At Dublin on 28th Nov., 1913—"Take my word for it, the cause of Ulster is your cause; let their fight be yours; let one and all realise that the time has come, not for criticising, but for sympathy and co-operation. I rejoice to think that in the last few months active steps in that direction have been taken in many parts of Ireland outside Ulster, and that men and women are organising for their mutual protection."

At Swansea on 12th March, 1914—"I agree that civil war is the path of danger. But it is also the path of duty, and I am convinced that no other alternative is left to these men if they prove in them the traditions and ideals of the men who went before them."

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MR. H. E. DUKE, K.C., M.P.,

Chief Secretary for Ireland July, 1916, to April, 1918,

Now MR. JUSTICE DUKE.

At Exeter, Oct. 2, 1913—"The men of Ulster have a moral right to resist, and the killing of the men who so resist will not be an act of oppression—it will be an act of murder."

MR. WILLIAM MOORE, K.C., M.P.

(One of the founders of the Ulster Unionist Council).

Now MR. JUSTICE MOORE (Nov., 1917).

At Craigavon, Belfast, on 23rd September, 1911—"We need not be a bit afraid of being persecuted for sedition or rebellion. . . . Let the Government try to lay a finger on any man for asserting the principles of freedom in civil and religious matters and they would light a fire in Protestant Ulster which would never be put out."

At Coleraine, 5th January, 1912—"An old statute passed 100 years ago forbade drilling with or without arms, but twenty-five years ago the good people in County Armagh in a crisis like the present took the lead in adopting defensive measures and began to drill. The Crown took proceedings against them. There were a dozen or so as respondents, but they were ably defended by a junior barrister from Dublin, who argued that the statute was obsolete, and the Court, including a Resident Magistrate, refused informations. That young barrister is now the Right Hon. James Campbell. If that were obsolete twenty-five years ago, it is still more so to-day. But even if it were not good law, under the Act drilling could be carried on with the licence from two justices . . . and I, as a magistrate for Antrim, would give them permission at once, and the use of my land, too."

Speaking at Coleraine on 8th July, 1912—"It might not be so many months before the Commission (a body of five appointed by the Provisional Government to take all necessary steps to defeat Home Rule) might find it necessary to call to arms the democracy of Ulster to take the field in defence of King and country, the Protestant religion, and their rights as British citizens. It was true that a private person could be prosecuted for carrying a gun without a ten-shilling licence, but that did not prevent him from openly keeping it in his house, and if the time came for organised defence against invasion of our constitutional rights as citizens of the United Kingdom no one was going to have time to ask for gun licences then. But even if it were not good law under the Act itself, drilling could be carried on with a licence from two justices. And speaking for myself, with my own knowledge of the circumstances, which I am entitled to take into account, if a trustworthy person swore an information before me, which I believed, that it was necessary for the defence of the preservation of the peace of the district that certain respectable and law-abiding persons should be permitted to drill, I, as a magistrate for Antrim, would give them permission at once, and the use of my land, too."

At Ballymoney, Co. Antrim, 1st February, 1913—"That disaster (Home Rule) could be averted in one of two ways—either by the ballot, or, failing that, the bullet. . . . About 220,000 had signed the Covenant of all ages above sixteen. If there were a force picked from this number of 30,000 able-bodied, active, God-fearing men willing to risk all for their country, orderly and disciplined, no Government in the world could say them nay. We will want a reserve behind them of, say, double that number, 60,000 more, to garrison the country, preserve order, and from which men could be drawn as they were required. **We must remember that there was no**

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use talking about a Provisional Government unless its authority was supported and enforced, not only by public opinion, but also by organised armed force to carry out its decrees if it became necessary. Towards that end—I speak with some knowledge—things are progressing satisfactorily.”

At Birkenhead on 10th March, 1913—“I have no doubt, if Home Rule is carried, its baptism in Ireland will be a baptism of blood.”

At Ballymoney, Co. Antrim, on 30th August, 1913—“As our general said to-day, we have got to make ourselves ready and give up our time, leisure, and comfort. We have got to perfect ourselves in discipline and drill. . . . We have got to make ourselves fit for our leaders to lead, and that is why we drill and drill.”

Speaking at Armagh on 4th October, 1913—“We have now for the first time in the memory of living man a drilled, organised force fit to do what it was asked, and I believe that I am only voicing the opinion of my constituents in the county when I say to Sir Edward: ‘Go on and do it, we are at your back.’ This question has to be swept out of the path of our progress, and while I believe the dreadful resort of fighting would be better than having it as a continual cloud hanging over us, if we could settle it by an election it would be better for all of us. If we could settle the question by the ballot rather than by the bullet I would prefer to do so.”

At Holywood, Co. Down, on 23rd January, 1914—“The crisis is coming nearer and nearer, and soon the opposition must be transferred to the actual battle ground in Ulster, and the men who would have to fight the battle for the Protestants of Ulster were the Ulster Volunteers.”

CAPTAIN JAMES CRAIG, M.P.,

“The Organiser of Victory,” Ulster Volunteer Force,

Now LT.-COL. SIR JAMES CRAIG, D.L., M.P.

1914—A.A. and Q.M.G. (36th) Ulster Division.

1917—Treasurer to His Majesty’s Household.

At Lisburn, December 24, 1910—“I have been thinking, and I am not alone, that perhaps we should change our tactics. A new generation was springing up in the sister countries which would have to be re-educated in the subject (of Home Rule), and that would be a very expensive thing. It strikes me that a great deal of the energy and money would be much better expended by just letting Ulster take her own firm stand. Let us spend amongst ourselves in the direction of buying arms and ammunition, and say to those who were not with them: ‘Now you are not going to make us have Home Rule. We are not going to have it at any cost.’ . . . You should ask some old soldier to give you lessons in marching, open order, and such like, and when you have mastered these things, then God help Birrell and his Nationalist Allies if they came near.”

At Banbridge, Sept. 18, 1913—“His politics were oozing out of his boots, and he would far sooner enrol men in the Volunteers than make a political speech. He was so determined that they should not be found wanting when the hour of trial came that he gave up the whole of his time to organising at headquarters, and he could assure the loyal Volunteers who were there that day that it would not be his fault if 100,000 rifles were not found for the 100,000 Volunteers.”

At Ballyclare, Co. Antrim, on 20th Sept., 1913—“I hope before the year is out that Sir Edward Carson will have 100,000 loyal men backing him up in the struggle for which, unfortunately, we have to look forward.”

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At Downpatrick on 19th Dec., 1913—"This is not the time for making speeches, but for making purchases.

"We don't want to fight,
But, by jingo, if we do,
We have got the Ulster Volunteers,
We have got the money, too."

At Downpatrick on 16th January, 1914—"The authorities (Provisional Government) are so satisfied with the progress of the Ulster Volunteer Movement all over the country that an announcement will shortly be made from headquarters putting a stop to recruiting. Accordingly I think it right to warn anyone still outside the ranks who desires to take his stand with his fellow-Loyalists to accept Carson's shilling at the earliest opportunity."

At Ballynahinch on 6th February, 1914—"I say deliberately that the smashing of the whole Parliamentary fabric would be amply justified rather than the situation should be longer protracted. In the face of civil war, what did it matter if business were made impossible in the House of Commons, what did it matter if the estimates for the forthcoming year were thrown into the waste-paper basket without a single word of discussion?"

At Downpatrick on 13th July, 1914—"On this summer morning 224 years ago our ancestors argued their cause not with words, but by action."

THE LATE MR. JAMES CHAMBERS, M.P., K.C. APRIL, 1917, APPOINTED SOLICITOR-GENERAL FOR IRELAND.

Speaking in Belfast on 23rd May, 1913, said—"We owed to England allegiance, loyalty, and gratitude, but if England cast us off then I reserve the right to say—I shall act as I have a right to act. I shall sing no longer "God Save the King." I say here solemnly that the day England casts me off I will say 'England, I will laugh at your calamity, I will mock when your fear cometh.'"

SIR JOHN LONSDALE, BART., M.P., NOW LORD ARMAGHDALE.

At Belfast on 12th July, 1912—"If there were any danger that we should be brought face to face with the armed forces of the Crown, would there be anyone amongst us who would even then counsel submission?"

At Belfast on 25th September, 1911—"If an Irish Parliament were set up we will not take any part in connection with it. We will disregard its decrees, we will not pay any taxes it imposes on us. If the Parliament is forced on us we will be prepared to take even stronger measures."

MAJOR McCALMONT, M.P.

At Larne on 4th February, 1914—"I was honoured by the County Committee (Ulster Volunteer Force) in being asked to take command of the Central Antrim Regiment, which consisted of three battalions."

At Templepatrick, Co. Antrim, on 6th February, 1914, said—"I do not want to fight with anyone, especially with my brother officers, but that must be on condition that I am left alone. That seemed to be the sentiment of any Britisher, and I am sure it is the sentiment of every Volunteer."

COLONEL SHARMAN-CRAWFORD, M.P.

At Bangor, July 3, 1913—"At the present time they heard a great deal about the importation of rifles. He supposed some of them knew who they

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had come from and whom they were for, but what he wanted to say to them that night was not to be downhearted at their seizure, for when the proper time came there would be plenty of rifles in Ulster. . . . They were not afraid of the civil forces, and when the time came for them to pay rates to an Irish Parliament it would take all his Majesty's troops to make them acknowledge and bow to the rule of an Irish Parliament." . . .

At Bangor, Co. Down, on 8th December, 1913, said—"There are some members of the (Unionist) Club who perhaps think that they are too old to join the Volunteer Force. Well, I am qualifying for the old age pension myself, and my opinion is that no man, so long as he has two arms and two legs, is disqualified from at least taking part in the movement."

THE LATE MR. A. L. HORNER, K.C., M.P.

At Caledon, January 10, 1912—"With such an organisation as they would soon have completed, no power on earth could fasten the collar of Home Rule upon them. The day a Dublin Parliament called upon an Imperial Government to send its troops to enforce the laws framed by Hibernians would see not only the wreck of such a Government, but the disruption of the British Army, and a far worse disintegration than was ever contemplated by any Radical statesman."

At Belfast on 8th April, 1912—"What British Government would dare to send its troops to enforce the decrees of an independent (Home Rule) Parliament against men like you? The first shot would smash the Government and rend the British Army."

In the House of Commons on 7th May, 1912, said—"Two hundred thousand men were enrolled in the Unionist Clubs, and these were drilling. In two years passive resistance could become active resistance."

H. T. BARRIE, M.P.

At Kilrea, County Derry, on 12th July, 1912—"It therefore behoves us to walk warily, feeling assured that when the time came for further action the signal would be given, and the Unionist Army would be the more impressive and the more effective because it would be the action of an army well drilled, well disciplined, and well officered, ready at the word of command to do and dare."

CAPTAIN O'NEILL, M.P.

At Ballymena on 25th November, 1913—"The Provisional Government is now ready to take over the government of Ulster when the time came. We have now a creditable amount of military discipline and military organisation, and we are ready to strike, if forced to do so."

ROBERT THOMPSON, M.P.,

Chairman of the Belfast Harbour Board.

At Belfast on 8th April, 1912—"We can calculate on the whole of the Orange Order, who, we anticipate, will resist to the death. We have also the whole of the members of the Unionist Clubs, nearly 200,000 strong, who are equally determined. We are promised a large measure of support from Canada. We will have a contingent from Australia, and a few from South Africa. It is passing strange that, as I learned only a few months ago, Germany has been looking after Ulster developments. She had the drawings all complete of every dock we have in the harbour, including the large new dock recently opened for the Olympic and Titanic. She has also drawings of the approaches to these docks, and, still more, she has an officer named to carry out the necessary campaign."

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C. C. CRAIG, M.P.

At Derryiagh, Co. Antrim, on the 19th October, 1911—"We must remember that when the Nationalists come into power they will endeavour to have control of the police force of the country and the employment of troops, and the people of Ulster required to be ready to deal with any situation of that kind, and, if necessary, be under arms."

At Lambeg, Co. Antrim, on the 12th July, 1912, said—"We are proceeding at the present time to form ourselves into semi-military bodies to be ready for eventualities, and all that we can now do is to prepare for the worst. Go on organising and go on drilling, and never cease for one moment to keep yourselves in readiness to do anything required at a moment's notice."

WILLIAM COOTE, M.P.

At Tynan, 30th January, 1912—"It must be apparent to all that there were tremendously serious times ahead, and it was the bounden duty of everyone who called himself a Unionist to join one of their Unionist Clubs and do his part in the efforts that were being made to save his country from the thralldom of Home Rule. The time might come when they would have to shoulder their rifle in defence of their hearths and homes, and it was gratifying to know that, if need be, they could, within three days, mobilise 100,000 men in Ulster ready and willing to do their part."

PETER KERR-SMILEY, M.P.

At Ballymoney, Co. Antrim, 1st February, 1913—"We could put over 100,000 men in the field under a week who would shed their last drop of blood rather than submit."

At Portrush on 4th August, 1913, said—"If in the near future it should be necessary for Sir Edward Carson to sound the advance—and let me say most respectfully and seriously that I do not believe in an army fighting a purely defensive battle—we in North Antrim will be proud to take our place in the forefront of the battle."

LORD CHARLES BERESFORD, M.P., NOW BARON BERESFORD.

In Belfast on 8th April, 1912—"My advice to the Loyalists of Ireland is—to prepare, to organise, not to talk too much, but to be ready to act if you are called upon."

At Ballyroney, County Down, on 26th September, 1912—"Prepare for eventualities with all zeal and energy, but do not talk. Go on with your organisation, get it ready without words, ready for deeds."

At Enniskillen on 13th July, 1914—"The (Curragh) officers refused to be a party to the shooting down of loyal Ulstermen. They were asked if they would go, and they refused. They did not disobey orders, but even if they had received orders they would not have obeyed them. They were prepared to take their punishment, to be court martialled and shot rather than do it."

At Portrush on 14th July, 1914, said—"The Navy would not refuse to obey orders, but they would be sure to get the alternative which the Army were asked to take, and if they did get orders they would be prepared to be tried by court martial and shot for disobeying them rather than shoot down their brother Loyalists in Ulster."

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THE LATE LORD LONDONDERRY, K.G., AT CRAIGAVON, BELFAST, JULY 12, 1913.

Extract from resolution moved by him:—"We resolve that it is our bounden duty and that of every loyalist to make and complete all preparations necessary for resisting by force and every other method the decrees and other executive acts of or on behalf of any Nationalist Parliament that may be established."

In Belfast on 19th July, 1914—"If these 100,000 Ulster Volunteers are ordered to be shot down by the soldiers of the Crown, I say there will run a thrill through England and the Empire from the effect of which it will take England many years to recover."

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD (JANUARY, 1914)—

"The R.I.C. would not avail the Government in case of war in Ireland—the Government must rely on the Army. Of the Army the greater part was always away, the men on foreign service, while the recruits were at home. . . . It was quite easy to calculate that the final figures of the strength of the Army would be less than 100,000 in May, and the greater part of it would be boys, far too young for the ghastly work which must go on in Ulster before the Prime Minister had seen this thing through. They could not send the whole British Army into Ireland. They would have to keep above half of it in England and Scotland, and even the force in Ireland would not be all in Ulster, but a big part of it would be elsewhere. The Government would not have a force of more than 15,000 for Ulster. . . . It was surely commonsense to imagine that Ulster with 90,000 men, and many more in reserve, was not going to confine her resistance to riots in Belfast. It would be a campaign between huge, disciplined bodies in the field. It would be a Campaign of Civil War."

THE DUKE OF PORTLAND.

At Nottingham on 28th January, 1914—"I had the great advantage a few days ago of paying a visit to Ulster, and whilst I was there I saw with my own eyes the preparations that are being made and heard with my own ears the opinions of those well qualified to speak. Vast preparations are being made—not by irresponsible men, or by men who are untrained to military exercise, or who are unaccustomed to the use of military weapons. There are about 100,000 Volunteers, and recruiting is soon to be stopped. I saw a wonderful parade of the East Belfast Regiment of the Ulster Volunteer Force, which numbers about 10,000 men. Men of all classes—a member of Parliament, clergymen, doctors, professional men, merchants, artisans, workers from the shipyards, workmen from every industry in Belfast, were in the ranks . . . they fall in and are drilled exactly like any recruits."

THE EARL OF CLANWILLIAM.

At Banbridge, County Down, on 10th December, 1913—"The Ulster Volunteers were not a force constituted or raised to march over the world, but were raised to defend their own homes and people."

At Ballynahinch, Co. Down, on 6th February, 1914, said—"Recruits, I am glad to say, are still joining, and the battalion is now 1,500 strong."

In an interview published in the London "Daily Express" on 10th July, 1914, said—"One (Ulster Volunteer) battalion of mine, 1,800 men, is spread over an area 18 miles by 15. How can one tell, from one minute to another, what is going to happen in an area like that? If war did break

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out it would probably be a war of extermination. We have the Nationalists sandwiched between our forces, and they have only a few old guns to rely upon. They could not possibly have a chance. Our men are well armed, and guns and ammunition are constantly being 'run' into Ulster. We have the province in the hollow of our hand, and our Volunteers would mobilise in a few hours, if called upon."

LORD WILLOUGHBY DE BROKE.

At Ballyroney, County Down, on 26th September, 1912—"We mean if we can to carry out our determination (not to have Home Rule) without shedding of blood; but in the last resource our strength will be the strength of our right arm. We intend, if necessary, to oppose violence with violence and force with force."

At Dromore, Co. Down, on 24th September, 1912—"One way of preserving the Union without recourse to force of arms, which none of us want, but which we should be prepared for, was to insist upon a General Election before the Bill passed into law."

COLONEL HICKMAN, M.P., now BRIGADIER-GENERAL HICKMAN, C.B., M.P.

At Wolverhampton on 24th November, 1913—"I have received hundreds of letters from soldiers and sailors in England who are anxious to accord their support to Ulster. An office has been opened in London, and there two or three times a week I have been engaged in interviewing officers who have served in the Army and Navy. Applications have also been received from officers who are serving now, as well as from non-commissioned officers who want to go to Ulster and help. I can assure you that these men (Ulster Volunteers) are not going to fight with dummy rifles. They are going to use modern rifles and ammunition, and they are being taught how to shoot. The rifles were of the best, and if the men would only hold them straight there would not be many Nationalists who would stand up against them."

At Wolverhampton, December 10, 1913—"You may be quite certain that these men (the Ulster Orangemen) are not going to fight with dummy muskets. They are going to use modern rifles and ammunition, and they are being taught how to shoot. I know, because I buy the rifles myself. I won't tell you where I get them from, but you can take it from me that they are the best, and if the men will only hold them straight there won't be many Nationalists to stand up against them."

JOYNSON HICKS, M.P.

At Warrington (Lancashire) on 6th December, 1913—"The people of Ulster have behind them the Unionist Party. Behind them was the Lord God of Battles. In His name and your name I say to the Prime Minister—'Let your armies and batteries fire. Fire if you dare; fire and be damned.'"

HAROLD SMITH, M.P.

At Newtownards, Co. Down, on 26th September, 1912—"If the crisis came, thousands of loyalists in England will cross the Channel to join their brethren in a fight for liberty and justice."

At Ballybay, County Monaghan, on 13th July, 1914—"The Minister who gave the order for British troops to advance against Ulster would find there was a convenient lamp-post in Whitehall."

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THE LATE ALFRED LYTTLETON, M.P.

At Cork on 31st July, 1913—"It is my conviction and belief that if the forces of the Crown are employed against Irishmen there are many officers and men who will decline to lift a hand against these Irishmen."

RONALD McNEILL, M.P.

At Downpatrick, July 13, 1914—"The Government would be adding one more to their long list of blind blunders if they complacently imagined that the Executive of the Provisional Government was going to sit with folded hands until it suits Mr. Asquith's political game to proclaim the Home Rule Bill in active operation. They would do nothing so feeble or so foolish. . . . No, the moment the Bill reached the Statute Book . . . that was the moment when they must strike for their liberties and rights." . . .

"We hope at least to prove ourselves worth some of the men who followed William across the Boyne 224 years ago."

GENERAL SIR WILLIAM ADAIR.

At Antrim on 12th July, 1912—"I had the honour of judging in a drill competition in Belfast a fortnight ago, and I was surprised to see what some of the (Unionist) Clubs could do. No squadron from the Guards' depot could have done better. . . . You must drill if you want to be relied upon."

At Whiteabbey, County Antrim, on 18th July, 1913—"England could only be prepared to defend her own interests by training her youth to arm, and Ulster could only be prepared by training her youth to arm, or at any rate to order, to discipline, and to organisation. We want the men of Ulster not only to sign the Covenant, and pass resolutions, but to be ready to do something."

At Templepatrick, County Antrim, on 6th February, 1914—"The (Ulster) Volunteers stand alone as a fighting force, and members of Orange Lodges and Unionist Clubs who have not taken their place in that force should show their mutual and patriotic spirit by joining at once."

COLONEL WALLACE, C.B., D.L., GRAND MASTER OF BELFAST ORANGEMEN.

At Belfast on 12th July, 1912—"Prepare for the siege. Let us all drill, unite together, and perfect our organisation in every way possible by going out in the moonlight every time that we have an opportunity. . . . Organise; drill, no matter what they say to you."

At Queen's Island Unionist Club, Belfast, May 12, 1913, having spoken a few words of advice to the men in regard to drill, said—"The time for words was ended, and the work in which they were now engaged would have much more effect. Five or six thousand men, trained and drilled as they were, backed up by Clubs trained and drilled in the same way all over the country, was the best argument against Home Rule."

Colonel Wallace, Secretary of the Ulster Provincial Grand Orange Lodge, addresses a circular from the Grand Secretary's Office, Old Town Hall, Belfast, on 18th August, 1913, to the Worshipful Masters of all the Orange

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Lodges in Ulster, in the course of which he wrote:—"Sir Edward Carson urges all brethren who are eligible and have not yet joined to do so at once and enrol in the Ulster Volunteer Force Company nearest to their residence. As leader he (Sir Edward) says—My responsibility compels me to point to the danger of anyone holding aloof at this juncture; when it is necessary to perfect final arrangements. My request is that all our men should join the Ulster Volunteers; the older men can help to guard their homes and property and thus release the younger men for whatever work may be necessary. . . . The success or failure of the plan depends to a large extent on every Loyalist taking his place in the ranks."

COLONEL O'CALLAGHAN WESTROPP.

At a meeting of the Belfast Unionist Students' Club on 15th December—"The Ulster Volunteers require efficient officers and men, and when I learned of your Officers' Training Corps much of my anxiety was gone."

COLONEL FITZGERALD.

At Portadown, County Armagh, on 30th March, 1912—"I ask you to remember what you are drilling for. It is to show the people of England and Scotland that Ulster Unionists are determined to defend their privileges . . . and under no circumstances submit to a Home Rule Parliament."

MAJOR MADDEN.

Addressing the members of the Ulster Volunteer Force after a church parade on the 1st May, 1914, at Drummilly, County Cavan, said—"You should keep on steadily making yourselves ready, and if it were necessary that you should be called upon to fight you should take your places like men. I hope it will not be necessary, but if it should become so you can depend upon having your leaders with you."

MAJOR F. CRAWFORD

(publicly acknowledged as the hero of the Larne Gun-Running exploit, April, 1913).

At Bangor, Co. Down, April 29, 1912—"If they were put out of the Union . . . he would infinitely prefer to change his allegiance right over to the Emperor of Germany or anyone else who had got a proper and stable Government."

ANTI-RECRUITING APPEAL.

From the "Observer," November 30, 1913:—

"Since the Prime Minister refuses on his own initiative to change the situation before the opening of Parliament, let Unionists see well to it that they change it for him. Will not the Unionist Lord Lieutenants resign their positions at the head of the Territorial Force in order to give the country an opportunity while there is yet time of realising the meaning of the passion and danger on which we have now entered? Every Unionist ought to prepare to leave the Territorials. The whole of the Unionist influence throughout the country ought to be used to prevent recruits from joining as long as there is the slightest threat of coercing Ulster."

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APPEAL FOR ENGLISH GOLD.

In the principal London papers of 10th December, 1913, there was published an appeal, signed by a number of **leading English Unionists**, for funds for an English movement to arm Englishmen and to send them to Ireland to help the Ulster rebels. The following passage is extracted from the appeal:—"They (the Ulster Volunteers) have raised and armed a large force in order to give effect to their oath. British Unionists are driven to arm themselves in support of the Ulstermen. We have men; we want money to equip them. We shall be glad to receive subscriptions from all those who sympathise with Ulster."

**THERE IS NOT ON RECORD THROUGHOUT THE LONG STORY
OF THIS ARMED CHALLENGE TO CONSTITUTED AUTHORITY IN
ULSTER A SINGLE EXECUTION, IMPRISONMENT, DEPORTATION,
PROSECUTION, OR EVEN A POLICE BATON CHARGE!**

**"THEY SHOULD STAMP ON ANY FORM OF REBEL AS THEY
WOULD ON A POISONOUS INSECT."**—Field-Marshal Lord French, Lord
Lieutenant of Ireland, at Dublin, July 6, 1918.

